Ambon OH4 ●
Moluccas OH1
Toradja 0611

Sangirese 069
Sundanese OE7
Javanese OE5
Kei OH13
Batak OD5

I 787 [203 cont.]

Su 192 784] the thought is first expressed in the common language and then it is expressed once more in the sasahara words (1).

1. Dr. N. Adriani, Sangireesche spraakkunst [Sangirese Grammar], pp. 56 f.

T 192 784 Among the Toradja the use of the ordinary language is forbidden during harvest time; ear (talinga) then becomes pandongé, [204] "that with which one hears" (in Chapter 8 more examples of this harvest language are given). Among the Sundanese some Su 192 784 objects are called by different names if a tiger is nearby; for example, a goat that is kept in the space under the house is called "the deer that lives under the house."

J 192 784 It is possible that the use of Krâmâ and Krâmâ-inggil words in Javanese is connected with this custom.

The pemali that come under the heading c are primarily those concerning pregnant women. Some of them, perhaps, are hygienic, but it is impossible to find any hygienic principle involved in a large number of them. A Javanese woman who is pregnant may not kill an animal, may not stand still in a doorway, may not sit on a rice mortar to eat, etc.

Among certain Javanese families, the nobility in particular, there are special prohibitions that usually involve the use of a certain kind of kris or horse, or some such. Usually these prohibitions go back to some historical legend concerning the time of their ancestors.

B K 262 782 In other places, such as in the Kei Islands and among some Batak tribes, there are special prohibitions for certain families or clans concerning the eating of certain animals. Some authorities see a remnant of totemism in this (see p. 182).

A M ●245 784 Finally, we must mention a practical application of the pemali system and one that is noteworthy from the point of view of the general economy. It is to be found on Ambon and in other places in the Moluccas where it has been recognized by the

1:Alkema & Bezemer--234 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Ambon OH4
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A M [204 cont.]
245 784 Government and brought under the administration of the European officials. It is the so-called sasi, under which it is forbidden to pick fruit from the trees that are under the control of the nagarees [nagari]. The fruit trees are marked or a dry coconut leaf is fastened to them; the individual owner is thus prevented from harvesting the fruit prematurely. This sasi is strongly enforced, especially during the period when the durian is ripening, by A M 776 the kapala kéwang, a kind of forester, but, of course, fear of punishment by the spirits for transgression is a great deterrent.

[205]

Chapter 4. Hindu Religions and the Hindu Colonization of the Archipelago

I x-179 On Java, and sporadically on certain other islands of the archipelago, there are visible signs of the former presence of a more highly developed people than the original inhabitants, that of the Hindus. The remains are usually ruins of temples and similar buildings, called tjandi by the Javanese, baths, images of the gods, inscriptions on stones and on copper plates. Up to the present, temple ruins have been found exclusively, or almost exclusively, on central and eastern Java; the other remains are found elsewhere.

In order to be able to evaluate the significance of these temples and the images of the gods and bas-reliefs that are on or in them, it is necessary to know something about the religion of the people who created them, especially since their religious ideas have left their mark on the minds of the Indonesians.

From the remains it appears that on Java, and on the other islands of the archipelago also, the two chief forms of Indian religion, Brahmanism and Buddhism, were represented. At the time they made their appearance in the archipelago they had already had a long history of development; Brahmanism had already become the so-called Hinduism and Buddhism had already split into a Northern and a Southern school. A short account of

124 materials regarding religion, adat, old survivals, etc. They are quite free to talk about everything. Once in a while they are a bit nonplused at what I know, but they soon rally and carry on. For example, at first they try the usual "no slaves" line but soon they admit everything. They seem not to resent the fact of adat revival and in fact they seem relieved to be able to talk about it with one who is sympathetic. I follow my usual rule of coming right out with everything.

A

361 578 423 621 Amahusu: This kampong is on the south border of Ambon and runs along the coast, by my measure, for about five kilometers. The assistant says six kilometers, but there is a case up now regarding the boundary, Amahusu insisting that the Benteng area (a military suburb) is in Amahusu territory while the district insists that it belongs to Ambon. My assistant says that the Amahusu dati have dusun [estates] in Benteng and can prove it. This is evidently one of those border disputes I heard about, and it is being fiercely contested. The kampong extends inland for perhaps as much as four kilometers, rising steeply from the coast of the bay. The main road [491] from Ambon to Latuhalat runs close to the shore and from this road the ridge rises steeply. Most 361 of the houses are on the ridge side of the road 245 though some are on the shore side and some are uphill. The hill is mainly gardens of spices, cocoanuts, etc. Some of the Butonese, as usual, live far uphill tending gardens. Some also, unusually, have settled in some of the cocoanut groves along the road at the north end of the kampong.

778 773 [769] Also uphill is the negri lama, about three kilometers up. There are the batu pemali which are too heavy to bring downhill, and the sacred ancestral spring.

A

167 563 443 609 About two hundred people have come to live in Amahusu in the last fifty years. Following the divisions I made for Tulehu, he said that there were of course no Arabs. In the pre-war period there was one Chinese family, but it was driven out as it was thought that the Chinese took away most of the money. At present there is no toko in the kampong except for two small shops. (see census.) There are, of course, the Butonese.

166 361 245 563 Immigrants come for land. Family and friends already here tell them about the opportunity. Once here they move into the hills except for a few who settle along the road at the north end of the kampong. These people have cocoanut groves. The hill is known as Gunung Nona, rising above the military post, and a magnificent garden spot overlooking the harbor. When I asked Gaspersz what it was, he said that there were Butonese people there and no others. One can see the green of fine planted fields there.

563 609 576 871 The Butonese make good, but do not mix in very much. They come to the negri feasts and like to do this, but they do not attend the private feasts as they do not eat pork. They are not invited, either. They must ask permission to get the land. It is evidently given to them freely, and they are friendly and servile. They always bow on meeting a Christian. Their children must now enter school as it is compulsory. Before, a few years ago, this was not so. Thus there are about twenty Butonese children who come down from the mountain to go to school.

624 651 574 My assistant himself has plenty of friends in the hills as they used to work for him on the roads (he was a mandur). He visits them once in a while. The only other local person who seems to go there is the kewang, who does so to collect tax data and taxes and to regulate land matters.

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769 in Leitimor. He said that when the bahasa tanah
178 goes, the adat and the other old things tend to
197 go too. The bahasa tanah is certainly the vehicle for the old things.

574 On the way to Tulehu in the morning, I was hailed at Paso and a crowd of women and others asked to be taken to Tulehu as their bus had broken down and they were going to get a boat on the way to Saparua. They said they were returning the day after tomorrow, and that they had relatives there. Visiting in this fashion is evidently a common thing. The term for relatives
[601] that they used is turun menurun.

T

Tulehu: The Radja was there today and I
124 talked with him for a long time. The police
622 officer from Ambon came in at the end so that I had very little time to go on with the schedule. But I got a lot of information from our talk. I was able to clear up the soa-dati details on which Gani had been confused. This shows that the complexity here is hard even for the scribe of the village. But the Radja knows always.

721 First the Radja denied that they had ever had
● 245 head-hunting here. He said then that he had heard
173 of it but that it had taken place a long long time ago. Then further he said that he had heard people say, "Sekarang musim potong kepala." [Now is the time to cut heads.] He says that they say this in Saparua too. The season for such activity evidently is the time of fruit plucking, that is of the cloves (and thus it is much like the post-harvest celebration elsewhere. Perhaps heads were required for feasts in the old days too.

000 The verified social organization is as follows:

000 A conch shell, a drum, and a gong are all used to call the ancestors. Every negri has a baileo. Every negri also has the tjakalele and costumes to go with it. The seven negri form an uli.

The negri themselves were often formed of an uli of five soa or aman. These ulilima were always comprised of five soa. There are no definite marriage relations between the fam here. Some are pairs of wife-exchanging fam; others are triads. The unusual thing in such cases is that any one of the three may marry into any other of the three, regardless of sex. Thus it is clearly not a one-way rotating system, but merely a group of three intermarrying fam.

177 182 The more I hear of Ambon the more I am astonished at the retention of the complex adat here by a completely "Westernized" and "Christianized" or "Mohammedanized" people. This must be one of the most remarkable cases of such phenomena in the world.

778 789 Ambon: Rehatta says that the Haruku negri (which ones?) still have very large holy jars. These jars are kept in a separate room in the house. And they are kept by themselves. They are believed to possess great magic power and people fear disturbing them. In the prewar period there were many of these holy jars in Ambon too. This is amazing. From his gestures, always expansive, they must have been (and are) six feet high and three feet in diameter, more or less woman-shaped.

● 245 In checking over the notes on Ambon, Rehatta says it is true that there is no shooting or shouting in the clove groves when the cloves are 1304 flowering. There is no tooth filing, although 178 Rehatta thinks that this was done before. Uti-286 uti cloth is no longer made. It was made of mixed thread, that is, made from strands of pineapple, ramie, and cotton fibers. His grandmother

207 A
346 and hear the former when they are in Ambon.

178 There have been a few changes technologically
342 speaking in the last fifty years. There are
493 several zinc roofs in the community. Automobiles have now taken an everyday place in the life of Amahusu.

286 There is no weaving done at all and no memory
181 of weaving. One Amahusu man brought back an Aru wife and she had a backbar loom. Why don't these people learn, and make some pretty clothes? They are so dull. There is no spinning and no memory of spinning.

323 There are five potters, male and female.
326 There is good clay here. There is no smith and practically nothing else.

Canned meat and fish and milk have come in
262 in the last half century. The use of the first
178 two, especially in off seasons for fresh fish,
853 is notable. Children drink canned milk more than formerly, but it is hard to get without a doctor's prescription. Formerly, if a mother did not have enough milk, she got a wet nurse. Now this is not so much the case as they do not like to give or take milk to or from another.
[124] I couldn't quite get the reason for this. This old fellow is hard for me to understand. It can't be my Malay, because Musila is all right. Maybe the old man speaks Ambon Malay. Otherwise there has been not much change in the food situation.

244 There were many gardens fifty years ago, but
311 now there are very few. Then people supported
178 themselves to a large extent. Today they buy most of their food. They do not even use all the land that they have, and this is a great change.

178 Today they use shovels, hoes, forks, etc. He
412 is especially impressed by the use of forks.
[245] The digging stick was much used formerly. There is little Sago here.

T

000 water here are the Butonese.

843 262 A pregnant woman eats bits of broken pottery (pot is sempe). He says that when he was a child and his mother was pregnant, he found a bit of sherd in the attic and mischievously hid it. She got angry. He saw her eat some of it, although it was hard and had to be crunched. She said it was delicious. What is the reason for this?

245 651 433 578 423 Tulehu has plenty of sago and in fact even has a surplus. None is imported. The yield of the kebon negri goes into the negri treasury. It is large. Long ago Ei had a large sago area and other fam had small sago areas. The latter became jealous at this, and fighting broke out. The Radja confiscated all except a reasonable amount of Ei sago land, and turned it into the negri grove, for the benefit of all. This may have been two hundred years ago, but the Ei still have a kind of title to this land, and the Ei folk are still a bit sore about it. In 1948 the negri sold nine hundred trees to get enough money for the upkeep of the mosque. As usual, negri members had first bid for the trees (the buyer has to chop, wash, and pack; that is, he buys it on the hoof). If there is not a bid made by the negri folk, outsiders may buy it. [435] One tree is worth from fl. 10.00 to fl. 35.00. The sago from one tree sells for from fl. 15.00 245 769 to fl. 45.00. Before one can cut any tree in the negri groves, the kepala dati of Ei must go through a certain ritual. He selects a very [825] large tree and prays to the ancestors who are in charge of the grove and at the same time sets free a white fowl. As the fowl runs off, the big tree is felled. If this is not done the ancestors become infuriated and the yield of sago will be small.

The negri sago must be cut just so. If it

245 T
769 is done wrong (that is, in regard to chopping down the tree[1]), the ancestors will be sore and they will throw an invisible spear into the offender. The latter will become sick and must [753] ask a member of Ei to bathe him ritually. Then he may be cured.

773 Other stories started to roll then, and he could clearly have gone on and on. This shows that there is plenty of folklore here and that it has to do mainly with ancestors and wonder tales.

773 Until about fifty years ago a woman carrying
769 goods to the market in Ambon for sale (and they
778 had to walk then) always stopped at the spring
[778] of Tungku Tiga, if she was a Moni. This spring is near the present Butonese mosque on the bay below Tulehu and is near Paso. She sprinkled water on her merchandise so that it would all be sold on her way to Ambon in order that she could go home and would not have to walk all the way to the city. The ancestors would help in this way.

[778] The reason this applies to Moni is that in the days when the Portuguese and Mohammedans were coming in here the Moni folk were afraid of forced conversion and fled to Paso and settled there. Their ancestors still haunt the area. It is a kind of "second negri lama" of this fam. Not long ago when a bridge was being built at Paso there was a pile which could not be driven down. The construction boss was puzzled because it was merely sand and he didn't think there was any stone in the way. A Moni man climbed on top of the pile and shook it and down it went. The ancestors of the Moni did it.

769 Gani's father and father's brother were once
789 walking to Hitu in a terrific rain. His father prayed to the ancestors and the rain stopped.

1[i.e., the negri sago --Analyst]

N

000 married there was a week long feast.

534 The conch shell is used now only to call for
721 the tjakalele, but I saw the kapitan use it in
578 preparations for war. The traditional enemy was Latuhalat (the Amahusu lad says Latuhalat was also the enemy of Eri; Latuhalat is a trade negri, but I can't see why this made it the enemy of so many negri; maybe every negri had more than one enemy; indeed, wars were frequent.

614 The Warela fam has a fish totem. This fish
262 is not eaten by members of that fam. This fish
825 is known as esilesil.

361 Distances to other places by land from Naku
481 are: Kilang three and one quarter kilometers,
103 Soya four km., Hatalai two and one half km., Ambon nine km. (they make it in two hours with a load, and the women are especially fast), Latuhalat fifteen km. (over a very hard forest path), Amahusu twelve km., Seri ten km., Hukurila three and one half km., Leihari ten km., Hutamuri thirteen km., Lata twenty km., Eri thirteen km., Rutung eleven km., and Ema two km.

565 There are no descendants of burgers here.

824 I am informed that they used to have a noise
245 taboo in the clove gardens when they were blossom-
178 ing, but this is now no longer observed. They
784 certainly have it elsewhere, for example, they said the harvest of cloves has just ended in Latuhalat and now they can make noise.

136 There is no big game here, that is, pig, deer,
224 etc. This is found only in Hitu. They do hunt kalong and cuscus. I saw one of the latter, a marsupial, in a cage. It is young and is being raised to be killed and eaten later. It has a skunk-like smell. They grow to be three feet
261 long. There is no geophagy here. No pottery is
323 made here.

245 There is not enough sago available in this
438 area, and they must buy sago from the outside.